

## Constitutional Headaches

THE Fleet Street Amusement Arcade has been more than usually lively since the Government put on its Parliament Act. This controversial new feature has proved a tremendous attraction. Conservative proprietors in particular are delighted with the opportunity for dividing the people, on the ground that the people ought not to be divided—by a Contest of Peers v. People.

Yet everyone knows that the Contest is only a shadow-fight. The House of Lords would not be the admirable revisionary chamber Mr. Eden claims it to be, if it required more than twelve months to improve any one piece of legislation; and Lord

### COMMENTARY

by

BRUCE ODSBUR

Salisbury has never been conspicuous for his championship of "a mandate from the people" when measures have been introduced which were on Labour's electoral programme. Nor is he likely to be when the Nationalisation of Iron and Steel itself comes up.

The Nationalisation of Iron and Steel is the only real issue in dispute; and the only real case against the Parliament Act is that it prevents the issue being discussed on its own merits—as it certainly should be: for two distinct questions are involved, one of principle and one of expediency. Should Iron and Steel be nationalised at all? And if so, should it be in the near future?

### Nationalisation on principle

ON the whole I. in common with a majority of pacifists, am in favour of nationalisation on principle, because it is the simplest means of putting a stop to the notorious evils inseparable from capitalist ownership. But nationalisation as an end in itself is preposterous. The value of public ownership depends entirely on what the public decides to do with its industry.

Is the nationalised industry to be still further mechanised, standardised, and expanded? Is it to be centralised in the hands of a vast bureaucracy? Is it to be geared to a permanent export-drive in rivalry with other States?—Or is large-scale industry to be reduced wherever possible in favour of small-scale, giving scope for personal fulfilment and communal responsibility? Is it to be planned for domestic consumption and barter with nations abroad?

Upon the answer to such questions as these depends whether public ownership of the means of production marks a step towards democracy and peace, or an intensified drive towards totalitarianism and war. And the answer itself depends on the people's ideal of "the good life," and therefore on their idea of "the good."

### Bemused

UNFORTUNATELY, when it comes to a discussion of first principles, socialists show themselves just as bemused as conservatives. It was a Labour M.P. (R. W. G. Mackay) who wrote to The Economist lately:

"The job of the Government is to take steps to reorganise the 80 per cent. of British industry which is not being nationalised. This means the introduction of mass-production, standardisation and much greater mechanisation. . . . It means, too, the reduction of the number of firms in each industry by concentration and amalgamations, and even the elimination of

(CONTINUED ON PAGE EIGHT)

# TO COMMEMORATE DICK SHEPPARD

## CONTROL OF LABOUR

### L.P.F.'s STATEMENT

The Labour Pacifist Fellowship has issued an important statement on Industrial Direction, of which the following is an abridgement. We invite all our readers to give it their most careful consideration.

THE L.P.F. opposes military conscription because it objects to the means (compulsion and regimentation) and to the end to which it is directed (the use of force of arms in international relations).

Its attitude to industrial conscription will be different because it positively desires the end—increased production and full employment—and only objects to the means—the direction of a man or a woman to a job by the State; but many sincere socialists may consider a temporary infringement of personal freedom justifiable in order to preserve the greater communal freedom of a society planned for the welfare of the people.

It is not compulsion, as such, to which objection is made. We accept it willingly under democratically established laws in the field of education, taxation, road safety, etc. The L.P.F. dislikes the direction of labour because it violates the individual's fundamental right to choose his work and decide what form his contribution to society shall take.

There never has been freedom of choice for the mass of the people in this country. Lack of education and financial opportunity, unemployment and the "master and man" relationship of capital industry, resulted in millions having no sense of vocation; in being thankful for any sort of job.

### Social security

The Government's plans for equal educational opportunity, for social security and full employment, establish for the first time the conditions in which the majority can develop a sense of vocation. These plans are threatened by the present crisis. Without a substantial increase in the production of food, raw materials, equipment and other goods, a serious fall in our standard of living will result. Can that increase be effected except by the direction of labour?

We regard it as the duty of a socialist government to plan the economic activity of the nation so that available resources of labour, equipment and raw materials are put to the most socially valuable use. The curtailment of less essential activities by restriction of supplies (e.g., of paper to football pools) would release labour and materials for more essential work. Within these limits we urge the maximum degree of choice for individuals, the requisite amount of labour for each industry to be secured by the offer of inducements, material and non-material.

Direction can only be justified as a short term measure in abnormal conditions, when there is not time for the inducement method to work.

In the present circumstances the L.P.F. approves the Control of Engagement Order. Vigilance is necessary to ensure that these measures are not used to obscure the unattractive conditions in the industries concerned and these industries should be made attractive as soon as possible. Further it should be ensured that the Order is not applied harshly by bureaucrats. With the Government acting carefully and in close co-operation with the T.U.C., with Parliament and the Press watching their applica-

tion, the present proposals cannot fairly be described as "the first step to the totalitarian or slave state" nor even as industrial conscription.

Every effort should be made to increase production by methods other than the direction of labour. New incentives must be developed. A sense of vocation and responsibility in work must be created. Workers must feel that they have a voice in the organisation of their industry. The nationalised coal-mines provide for the establishment of pit committees.

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In other publicly owned concerns, similar facilities should be provided and operated. In industries still privately owned, Joint Works Production Committees should be established. Democracy must become a reality at the factory and office level.

Spare time service should be encouraged, in agriculture, industry and social service; individual socialists should set an example.

### Reduce the forces

We urge the Government not to continue with the National Service Act but to reduce drastically the man-power in the armed forces and on war production. This would release men and factories for constructive purposes.

The Government must inspire a determination among the people that our socialist experiment should succeed and ensure a fuller life for the people. The more people realise and accept their responsibilities in the political and economic life of the nation, the less will be the pressure for compulsion.

### If we fail

If we can achieve a socialist society without violating essential personal freedom, it will be one of the decisive achievements in history. In thus combining freedom and planning we shall go far to discredit both totalitarian communism and capitalism. If we fail, it will be interpreted as proof of the impracticability of democratic socialism, and the consequences, both here and abroad, will be disastrous.

★

The Labour Pacifist Fellowship is open to all Pacifist members of the Labour Party.

Details of future meetings and other activities may be obtained from the Secretary: W. R. Page, 127 Fellows Road, N.W.3.

The following letter has been circulated to the Press by thirteen prominent members of the Peace Pledge Union:

"DICK SHEPPARD died on the 31st October ten years ago. A few years previously he had sent to the national and provincial press a letter much of which seems as relevant today as when he wrote it. He desired to call attention to the gravity of the situation in the light of the way in which the nations were 'Pursuing peace,' and he expressed the judgment that 'the majority of thoughtful men in this country are now convinced that war of every kind or for any cause is not only a denial of Christianity, but a crime against humanity, which is no longer to be permitted by civilised people.' He concluded by asking a postcard acknowledgment from any who were prepared 'to renounce war and never support or sanction another.'

"Out of that grew the Peace Pledge Union, and though Dick Sheppard's desire to prevent another war was frustrated, his work still goes on, and his voice still challenges the method of our peace making today. Was he not right in claiming that nothing but a complete reversal of the view which accepts war as a legitimate instrument of national policy and a complete change of values can save the world from disaster?

"It is not too late for a new determination to make more plain the real causes of war; a new policy which will seek to remove those causes and create conditions of a peaceful society in which the equal value of all men, their rights and their responsibilities, can be fully recognised. But the time is short."

Signed:

E. W. BIRMINGHAM,  
VERA BRITAIN,  
BENJAMIN BRITTEN,  
GEORGE DAVIES,  
RHYS DAVIES,  
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DICK SHEPPARD 1880—1937



# DICK SHEPPARD AND THE PPU

**H**UGH RICHARD LAWRIE SHEPPARD was born in 1880. He was the second son of the Rev. Edgar Sheppard, Sub-Dean of the Chapels Royal.

He took his degree at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in 1904, having earlier been at Marlborough. There followed a year as secretary to Dr. Lang, who was at that time Bishop of Stepney and later became Archbishop of Canterbury. After preparation for ordination came the chaplaincy of Oxford House, Bethnal Green, in 1907; two years later he was made Head.

## SERVICE EXPERIENCE

In 1908 he was appointed Deputy Priest-in-Ordinary to Edward VII, and to George V four years later.

St. Martin-in-the-Fields—the church with which his name will always be associated—claimed him for only a short period in 1914, for on the outbreak of the war he became a chaplain. From his service experience came the final conviction that war was wrong.

After the war Dick Sheppard's radio sermons made him known to millions, while at St. Martin's thousands found help and sympathy from him. In 1927, however, he had to resign the living—a decision rendered necessary by the asthma which became increasingly distressing in later years.

In 1929 with improved health he became Dean of Canterbury, but once again, in 1931, he had to resign. Later he was able to assist his successor at St. Martin's, the Rev. Pat McCormick, and in 1934 received the appointment of canon and precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral, which he held until his death on Oct. 31, 1937.

## THE LETTER

It was on October 16, 1934, that a few journals published a letter from Dick Sheppard expressing the conviction that "war of every kind or for any cause is not only a denial of Christianity, but a crime against humanity, which is no longer to be permitted by civilised people," and invited any man who felt as he did to send him a postcard stating that he renounced war and would never support or take part in another.

The story of the great response this evoked has been told over and over again, how the following morning thousands of postcards were delivered

at the house of his friend, Brig.-Gen. F. P. Crozier; whose death preceded Dick Sheppard's by only a few weeks.

For a long time all that was done was to collect the names, and it was not until June, 1935, that Dick Sheppard at last ventured to call the signatories together in the Albert Hall, London, although his original letter had promised such a demonstration. After this there followed months of speaking at big public meetings, together with George Lansbury, Aldous Huxley, Gerald Heard and many other public men who became associated with him in this work.

## GROUPS SPRING UP

Then, spontaneously, groups of signatories began to organise themselves locally. Impressed by the similarity of the nature of this step to his own lead, Dick Sheppard agreed to the opening of an office for what was known simply as "Dick Sheppard's Movement." It was not until May, 1936 that it emerged as the Peace Pledge Union, sponsored by some ten leaders of pacifist thought of that day.

Referring to the Sponsors, at one of his meetings, Dick Sheppard said that he hoped the idea that it was his movement would be ended, for the Sponsors were chosen as representing all kinds of hundred per cent. pacifism, and not just the Christian, or even religious element alone.

## THE LAST YEAR

The last year of Dick Sheppard's life was the story of the growth and work of the Peace Pledge Union, since he identified himself with it as wholeheartedly as his ecclesiastical duties would possibly allow.

A week before his death came the memorable Glasgow University Rectorial Election. Dick Sheppard had a majority among all sections of the voters such as none had had since the election of M. Poincaré. The other candidates were Mr. Winston Churchill (Unionist); Professor Macneile Dixon (Scottish Nationalist-Liberal coalition); and Professor J. B. S. Haldane (Popular Front).

Today, amid much destruction, the building in Amen Court where Dick Sheppard passed away still stands, so too does Dick's own building—the Peace Pledge Union.

The Union welcomes into its ranks

*Clifford Evans'*

## THOUGHTS ON DICK SHEPPARD

**L**ISTEN to what Dick Sheppard says today . . . How often as a boy in my home in Wales did I hear my mother use that phrase as an introduction to what Dick Sheppard had just said or written. If it was not Dick Sheppard it was Bernard Shaw, and even to this day I can hardly think of one without being reminded of the other.

Later in life, during the course of my work in the theatre, it was my good fortune to meet G.B.S. on several occasions and to experience the warm humanity of his personality; but, alas, Dick Sheppard I never met in person; so, for me, there will always be a legendary quality about his name.

The nearest I have come to a knowledge of his personality is through the story of a friend. Wandering about alone one dark winter's night in London my friend, not a religious man, but on this night a cold one, turned into the church of St. Martin's in the Fields to keep warm. He had no intention of remaining long, but the stammering eloquence and the integrity of the man in the pulpit kept the casual visitor in the church until the end of the service, when he once more returned into the indifferent streets a warmer and, temporarily at least, a wiser man. It was an experience that was never forgotten—although it was not realised until years later that the preacher had been Dick Sheppard.

Dick Sheppard . . . ! As I write I say the name aloud . . . it has a gallant sound, a gay and gallant sound; it has no association with dullness . . . it is as though Robin Hood had taken to the pulpit! Surely it is more of this gaiety and gallantry of spirit that we pacifists need today. Wasn't it Max Plowman who first commented on the inadequacy of the word pacifist? I think he was right. It is so apt to be misleading, too often people think of it as deriving from the word passive . . . inactive . . . and too often they may be excused for thinking this.

*"Who would not tilt at windmills ere he die?  
Rather than, screened by safe majority,  
Preserve his little life to little ends  
And never raise a REBEL battle cry."*

In thinking of Dick Sheppard that verse comes back to my mind—learnt in childhood and quoted from memory.

There was nothing passive about Dick Sheppard.

everyone who is resolved not to be the means of war's activity, irrespective of the particular form of reasoning or faith which has brought him to this decision. Some of its older members have been conscientious objectors through two world wars; the majority have stuck to their Pledge through the last; some have only recently joined. Altogether it numbers over 16,000 men and women.

But its influence extends further than its numbers would suggest. For nearly all the members are actively engaged, in co-operation with non-pacifists, in creating the conditions of a warless world—through political organisations; through social service and relief, at home and abroad; through industrial and agricultural pioneer-work—as well as through propaganda against war. For, like

their decision to make a renunciation of war, their ways of acting for the attainment of peace remain individual; each member has to find his own most suitable and effective method.

The groups of the Peace Pledge Union scattered throughout the country follow collectively these ways to the construction of a different social order: by public demonstration they endeavour to bring their aims to the notice of others; in the belief that a new social order requires new men and women, they endeavour to constitute units of the new society within the old. They are, moreover, united, through the War Resisters International, with pacifists in all parts of the world engaged in the same endeavour.

## FOUR AFFIRMATIONS

The following four Affirmations are held to express the corporate mind of the Peace Pledge Union:—

*We are agreed*

(1) in attaching supreme value to the human person and the integrity of the individual.

It is necessary to distinguish between the integrity of the individual, and an individualism, the exaggeration of which has prevented the realisation of true democracy, and opened up the way for totalitarianism.

(2) in believing that the individual only achieves full personality through the establishment of right relationships with others.

This involves the acceptance of a share of the guilt and the responsibility of society.

(3) in our apprehension of the increasing power of the existing social order to destroy the individual and prohibit real community.

Existing society denies the pacifist way of life; and we must therefore witness against this denial. This involves a recognition of the subhuman tendencies towards totalitarianism in the present situation, and an attempt to expose them. The willing submission to the common good which is exploited in totalitarianism must be incorporated in a new society based upon a new culture.

(4) that our task is always to take the most creative and constructive action in the face of existing circumstances.

The way of justice and love, to many expressed as "the way of Christ," is the straight way to the redemption of the individual and of society.

These Affirmations, however, are binding upon nobody. The sole basis of membership of the PPU is the Pledge: "I renounce war, and will never support or sanction another," signed and sent to PPU Headquarters at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

## A Task for To-day

by SYBIL THORNDIKE

**A**NNIVERSARIES should not be just commemoration, they should be shocks, to make us aware again anniversary—make us aware of new moment of living. Here is one—this growing and is so catching.

The hideous muddle of the present world—due to war, most of it—has shaken many of us so terribly that we almost feel like doing nothing about anything, just helping a bit where we can, but refusing to take part in any attempt to solve the muddle and puzzle. It's so easy to say "What good will it do if I find a way out—nobody would take any notice," but that is simply escaping, and anyway it's not the point.

If we could, each of us, think creatively, use our brains to understand why the muddle has come, in imagination apply cures, find out new ways—do a little personal research in fact—then we shouldn't be just dead weight, but live, creative thinkers, and the people in charge, who have the actual responsibility of governing and ordering, would be conscious of real live thought around them instead of a mass of stodgy humanity.

One sometimes feels so desperately sorry for Cabinet Ministers and those in responsible positions when one realises what a lot of un-understanding men and women with hardened arteries are cluttering around. Nice well-meaning people, perhaps, but not flexible, not giving out something

electric from which ideas could be born.

It may seem foolish to talk like this in a "Peace News" journal, for we pacifists are supposed to be live wires, and with more ideas of governing the world than is always convenient to those around us. Well, if this is so, then our job is to help, and spur to awareness, the nice half-dead or asleep escapists who want to be comfortable. We all want to be comfortable, I suppose, but comfort isn't everything.

I can always see a small edition of the general public in a theatre audience. When there is an aware, sensitive audience then the actor can use his precious energy in the real work of the play, instead of having to manoeuvre a dull weight of coughers and match-strikers, of heavy humans. The actors are the leaders, those responsible for the performance of a certain work, and when there is a co-operating audience then that audience gets a better thing, gets his money's worth, because of something he is giving which the actor uses in order to give back again, re-created.

I think it is our business as Pacifists to help people who are dull or numbed to become aware and co-operative. We don't want to stop



DAME SYBIL THORNDIKE

criticism, because criticism is good and challenging, but it must be without antagonism, without bitterness and carping, then we'll get somewhere. This is what I feel a man like Dick Sheppard showed us—none more awake than he to wrongs and stupidities, but seeing with sympathy and with sensitiveness, always with the dynamic aliveness of Christianity.



eyes she is now

# ABOVE THE BATTLE

THE world is so full of wars and rumours of wars that it is even more difficult now than it was in the Frightened Thirties for Europeans to project themselves in sympathy into the turmoil of Far Eastern affairs and to pick out what is significant, and what threatening.

The western world in part overlooked and in part feared to face up to the menace to its security that was implicit in the struggle between China and Japan. We have learnt to our cost how great an opportunity was missed for international intervention and mediation at the first moment of the Manchuria incident.

Yet once more we confront a conflict of power politics which is once again bleeding China white, and which once again threatens what security is left to the world.

The Civil War in China has been going on for twenty years. But it is only recently that both the Nationalist and Communist extremes in China have found for themselves outside backing which is capable of making their struggle a focal point for a far greater conflict.

It is now beyond dispute that Communists and Nationalists have been receiving help from Russia and from America respectively.

## Intervention

Russia evacuated Manchuria at a moment when the Communists could take over and the Nationalists could not. American planes were used to ferry Nationalist troops to key Japanese bases which had for long been besieged by the Communists, over whose heads the troops were installed. An American Military Mission has for years continued to train and advise the Nationalist armies. American munitions, contributed to the Nationalists since the armistice with Japan, have in the last two years been greater than the sum of American aid to China during the eight years of Sino-Japanese war. This is now topped by the decision of Mr. Marshall to allow 130 million rounds of ammunition to be contributed under lease-lend to the ammunition pouches of the Nationalist soldiers.

There is not space here to discuss the competing claims of Communists and Nationalists in China. What is clear is that they are engaged avowedly in a war to the death, and that so long as either can look to outside help that war of attrition will continue. There are two issues which emerge; the first is the reaction of Chinese people to the foreigner; the second is the alternative that lies within China to this bloody and protracted struggle.

On the one hand Chinese of widely differing social status have begun to hate America and perhaps are beginning to extend this hatred in a general revulsion both from the liabilities and from the assets which western civilisation has brought and can bring to their country.

## UNRRA's record

This reaction has not been helped by the record of UNRRA in China during its two years' work. An enormous expenditure of energy and good-will has gone into bringing in, distributing, and advising on the use of relief and rehabilitation supplies. UNRRA field workers of all nationalities have demonstrated their disinterestedness and their good-will with great effect in the vast majority of cases. But as UNRRA workers, both senior and junior, have been forced to admit, and indeed to protest publicly, their efforts have been vitiated by the discriminative policy which seems to have been pursued by Washington.

The Communist controlled areas are 30 per cent. of the land surface of China and approximately 50 per cent. of the area which had been devas-

by

**TONY GIBSON**

tated by the war with Japan and which was the agreed sphere of UNRRA activity. During the first year of UNRRA work in China, the Communist areas received 2 per cent. of the total supplies allocated to China. After considerable pressure was exerted at the beginning of this year the percentage was generously raised to 3 per cent. That is how the matter stands as UNRRA closes its books and goes home.

What makes this failure so tragic is not so much discrimination against the Communists, serious though that is, but the fact that the Liberal people in China who are opposed to the militant extremism of either side, have been most active in urging a more impartial international administration of relief. In the last six months these liberal elements have begun to group themselves around the growing Chinese student movement. Today they constitute, for the first time in the history of the Chinese Republic, a potential middle-way Government. This new and liberal opposition is determined not only to end the civil war, but to ensure the peace. It is a party of fusion and reconciliation whose policy is a coalition which will interpret the reformism of the Communists alongside constitutionalism rightly advocated by the Nationalists.

I began by referring to the confusion of Far Eastern politics. This

confusion is no excuse for indifference on our part. Let it be clear that the continuance of the Chinese civil war is not only a tragedy for scores of millions of Chinese people, it is also a deadly threat to world peace. Only a middle-way Government could deny Chinese territory to both the foreign powers involved. Only thus can be averted the great danger of a direct conflict in China between two powerful and hostile imperialisms.

## Two opportunities

This country now has two opportunities. The UNO Food and Agriculture Organisation is taking over from UNRRA, and on the FAO Council our Government has a place. We should use our position to ensure that this time the United Nations approach to China shall be impartial, making its appeal to the China that counts, the vast mass of Chinese who are tired of the bigotry of either party. Secondly, we have to seize every opportunity that exists to publicise the struggle of the "Middle Way" group. Theirs, at present, is a battle in the dark, their voice suppressed or distorted by the propaganda agencies of either side. Our Press and Parliament have given scant attention to what is going on in China. We cannot suffer the reputation of western democracy in its dealings with China to be left in the hands of America alone. We have no longer the commercial and military interests in China which would make the Chinese take our opinion to be a naturally biased one. Our opinion is becoming suddenly of greater weight, for in Chinese eyes we are now "above the battle." For the sake of all that the West could mean to China, and that China could mean to the West, let us not be indifferent to its outcome.

## PEACE IS ON THE TIMETABLE IN SWEDEN'S SCHOOLS

AMONG the many peace organisations at work in Sweden is one known as "The Schools' Peace Union." It originated with the work of an elementary school head teacher, who in 1920 began giving a series of talks to other school teachers on World Peace.

With the passage of time the work has changed, and while today one aspect is giving teachers joining the organisation an understanding of peace problems, a great deal of the Union's activity is with the children.

The Union arranged for speakers to address meetings of older scholars after school hours. Past subjects were "Great Power Politics in North Africa" (in 1941); and "Propaganda as a Power Factor." In the future, however, lectures are to be given as part of the school curriculum—this marks a great step forward in the recognition of the Union's work.

In Gothenburg recently I had the opportunity of talking with Miss Matell, a local school teacher, who, as an officer of the Union, has done very valuable work. One important feature of it was the securing of a closer tie between the children of the Nordic countries: Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Iceland.

"On every 18th of May we celebrate a day of goodwill. The schools in the various countries send one another booklets, hand-written by the children and teachers, telling what they have been doing to abolish war," said Miss Matell. "We had the idea from a school in Wales," she added.

Miss Matell told how teachers in the movement in Norway had had a very difficult task after the occupation ended.

It was very difficult to get the older children to settle down to school life after the Germans had gone. Many of them had lived rough and dangerous lives inside the resistance movement and the teachers had the hard task of trying to teach the children to be children once more. It was obvious that the minds of many of them were constantly wandering

from the lesson of the day; they were back again in the forests and hills, smuggling ammunition and aiding Gestapo escapees.

One teacher found a solution to this problem by asking all the children of her class to write out an account of their activities during the period of the occupation. They were told that their papers were not to be headed with their names and that the exploits of any individual would not be revealed. This mere act of writing down their adventures seemed to clear the children's minds. In one instance one of the boys had been returning from a trip to the mountains with his father to collect parachuted ammunition when they came face to face—and quickly shot—two German scouts.

"You English," said Miss Matell, "have had no contact with the occupation—you don't know what the Germans have done. I think we in Sweden understand far better the attitude of many of the Norwegian teachers, one of whom once said to me: 'We will not hate the Germans; but we cannot be friendly towards them.'"

One experiment the Union has sponsored has been the sending of a party of Swedish school children during term time for a week's schooling in Danish and Norwegian schools.

To people in England this may seem rather trivial, rather like sending English children to Scotland, but it should be remembered that it was only with a great deal of effort that a war was averted between Norway and Sweden forty years ago. Furthermore, the Swedish people most fervently hope that they are presenting the rest of Europe with an example of good international behaviour.

HUGH H. BROCK.

## WOMAN'S VIEWPOINT

THERE is far more apparent poverty in Paris than in London now—people look grubby and unkempt almost as a matter of course. To British minds, soaked in their national Beveridge, the inescapable question is: how do the poor live? But the question is never satisfactorily answered. There is only a Gallic shrug, and the whispered query, "Revolution?"

Signs of unrest are certainly not lacking. I witnessed a women's demonstration outside the Hotel de Ville, reputedly Communist-inspired. The "Femmes Unies" looked grim enough for anything, massed behind the wooden barricades with large banners and chanting "Milk for our Children!" and "Give us more Bread!" The demands are understandable, with the present bread ration (two hundred grammes a day) half what it was under the German occupation. Liquid milk is also very scarce, half a pint a day for children and none at all for adults.

There are surprisingly few signs of the Occupation. It seems generally agreed that the Germans behaved at least more "correctly" than the Americans, at any rate, in Paris. They respected Paris, and some of them grew to love it. The story goes that when Paris was mined a German soldier refused to light the fuse, and so saved the city from destruction. But he himself was subsequently shot. Goodwill on the French side was not entirely disinterested. How far it was inspired by greed we do not know, but the chief beneficiaries from the occupation seem to have been the shop-keepers who managed to swindle the Germans handsomely. Unfortunately it is a habit that sticks, and is now contributing to the high prices and the black market.

On the other side of the picture, there are sudden glimpses of the underlying tragedy of the capitulation. On some of the street corners there are little brackets of flowers, and underneath a plaque with simply a name and date and the inscription "victime de la barbarie allemande."

The beauties of Paris seem to be utterly unspoiled. The only visible signs of looting are occasional empty pedestals in the squares and gardens. The bronze statues were removed to Germany for making shells. Voltaire, himself a victim, might have enjoyed the irony of being melted down in defence of opinions he detested.

On the surface, France has undoubtedly come out of her ordeal better than we have. The trains even run to time, if not early. (As one bewildered visitor remarked, "And I thought they lost the war!") But the general opinion of returning escapees from socialist totalitarianism, often grudgingly given, was undoubtedly that we should count the blessings of a stabilised economy and an honoured ration-book.

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## FOUNDATIONS

THE man in the Parable who built his house upon sand was, we suspect, heartily contemptuous of the man at work on the rock. "Hi you!" he used to shout, leaning against a wall already as high as himself, "Hi you! I thought we were supposed to be putting up houses, not digging underground shelters"—for, of course, he knew nothing about foundations: the Parable only refers to one house as *founded*. And then, turning back to his bricks, he would shake his head and mutter, "Negative, that's what that is."

And "negative" is what the renunciation of war has always been called, ever since Dick Sheppard first asked for signatories to the Pledge. What is necessary today, we are told, is to build the peace: on that task all good men can be united, even if they do differ slightly on the right place to start. But what if the site is all-important? What if the right way to start building up is to dig down—and to dig down just where most toil and sweat, even blood and tears, are demanded?

What if the peace built on readiness for war is really a peace built on sand? We have seen some imposing structures erected in our time: peace by convention and peace by treaty, peace by appeasement and peace by conquest. They took much less time to erect than would peace based on the renunciation of war; they exacted far less sacrifice—for to renounce war individually means to expose yourself and your friends to all the horrors that tyranny can inflict, without any hope of redress except through the slow and often imperceptible workings of faith, hope and charity.

But when the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, did any of these structures endure? The economic blizzard of the 1930's swept them away overnight; and the economic blizzard of the 1940's is sweeping them away again. Already the house of peace by war-time alliances is being tossed about like a raft, with Molotov, Bevin and Marshall fighting to keep afloat. The United Nations is a castle in the air, because its architects never got down to earth—let alone rock.

A new economic system, then, is the solution? True, but as the system which drives classes and nations to compete with one another for a living was the expression, before ever it became the cause, of the cupidity, fear and hatred in men's hearts; so a system that engenders co-operation can only be brought into being by men striving to master these passions—which means renouncing war in the first place.

Furthermore, no nation organised for defence can begin to construct such a system. Not merely because, as Britain is learning today, mass-armies hinder the mass-production which the State is out to promote; but because mass-production promoted by the State takes away the opportunity for neighbourly co-operation and personal responsibility. Yet mass-production promoted by the State is indispensable to the conduct of war.

It may be, therefore, that no nation will establish a peaceful society—because no nation will have the courage to renounce war. In that case, the rains will beat upon the house, and it will fall, and great will be the fall of it. But even so, should a minority of people build an ark, where the dove can find rest for the sole of his foot, this may survive the deluge, and re-people a world which our own corruption and violence have doomed.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

## Letters to the Editor

# THE RUSSIAN ZONE

## Ingeborg Woodcock answers her critics

WITH regard to Mr. Gordon Schaffer's letter in Peace News of Oct. 10. I myself am a pacifist and would give no more support to a war against Russia than I did to one against Germany.

What I did try to convey in my article was the atmosphere prevalent in Germany and which anybody who mixed freely with the people must have observed. During my stay in Germany I conversed with hundreds of people of all classes, both Germans and British personnel, and my impressions were based on this wide contact.

### MISLEADING FIGURES

Mr. Schaffer's statements with regard to the food situation in the Russian zone are completely misleading. The figure of 90 per cent. for food taken from the peasants was given me not only by many people with peasant relatives in the Russian zone, but also by one civil servant from the Russian zone. May I suggest that the propaganda figure is 50 per cent., and the actual figure 90 per cent.? In Mr. Schaffer's third paragraph he rather inconsistently admits that "steps were not taken" to avoid "bureaucracy." But perhaps this is a significant slip of the pen!

Mr. Schaffer says that "If steps were not taken to ensure delivery of the proper quota from the peasants, the towns in the Soviet zone would starve and food would go on the black market as is happening in the West."

I would point out firstly that there is in fact widespread starvation in the towns, as any readers who correspond with Germans in the Russian zone will know. In some areas in the months of August and September even the bread, potato and cereal rations were not fully honoured, while out of a batch of prisoners recently returned from the Russian to the American zone more than half were found to be seriously under weight from malnutrition. If the townspeople actually received all the food taken from the peasants it would not be so bad, but Mr. Schaffer conveniently neglects to say that in the Russian zone, unlike the British zone, the occupying forces live on German produce.

The black market in the Eastern zone is just as prevalent as in the West, as it is the only means by which many people can get enough to eat, particularly if they are not in the higher ration group. Coffee there costs exactly the same as in the British zone, i.e., 500 marks a pound, and as the price is regulated by supply and demand this indicates that the condition of the black market is approximately the same.

## A dietetic horror

I WELCOME Roy Walker's article (September 26), and support most of his views. There is, to my mind, a very real relationship between pacifism and vegetarianism.

I believe that a fleshless diet is basic to all moral reforms—a first and absolutely essential step to advancement—and if practised on a widespread scale might well achieve results undreamed of today. It is reasonable to suppose that the abolition of war would be one of these results, since it is inconceivable that a people freed from what is, after all, a form of cannibalism could countenance, or support, a war. A more humane attitude would be assured, along with a revolt against the bloodshed and wholesale destruction so apathetically accepted today by people who still think of "nature red in tooth and claw," that it is man's destiny to fight, and all the rest of the nonsense which 2,000 years of Christianity has done so little to dispel.

If pacifists really want to bring about harmonious relations between the nations, they must do more than sign the Peace Pledge.

They must recognise the unity of all sentient life, and that flesh eating is a relic of savagery, incapable of withstanding the spotlight of humaneness, morality, or ethics. They must realise that even in fleeting days of "peace," when soldiers are idling in their barracks, and no bombing planes are setting out on missions of destruction, a bloody war of another kind is going on around us. True, this war

On the question of peasants who have fled from the Russian zone, I am in a position to contradict Mr. Schaffer, as I have actually talked to such families.

As for the German trade unions, I would first ask Mr. Schaffer how a trade union with a compulsory membership can be free? Secondly, I would point out that rank-and-file members of unions have usually a better idea of what goes on than commissions from abroad, which are notoriously capable of being hoodwinked.

The same applies to the question of German arms factories. Commissions after the 1914-18 war completely failed to discover the secret re-armament which was going on then, and such a method of investigation is therefore completely untrustworthy, particularly as the Russian authorities have long been adepts at showing only what they want to be seen.

### UNPLEASANT TRUTH

Once again may I point out to Mr. Schaffer that in the last paragraph of my article I deplored the attitude of those Germans who think they may gain from another war, but it would be completely disingenuous to suggest that such an attitude is not widespread. I did listen to many people in the British zone, which I consider a more profitable way of finding facts than that pursued by the average professional journalist in Germany, of relying on official handouts and press conferences.

With reference to Mr. Kraschutzki's letter, it is a common accusation against refugees that they have their own axe to grind, and I imagine that people of his outlook would have used the same argument against Jewish refugees coming out of Nazi Germany. The fact is that people do not leave their homes and possessions for nothing, and even the Communist-appointed Minister-President of Thuringia, who had certainly no Nazi record, found it necessary to flee. The means by which former Nazis secure themselves in the Russian zone is usually by adopting protective colouring; they change from brown to red, just as they turn Christian in the British zone.

I did not say that Germans had been sent to Siberia, but it is an openly admitted fact that many Ger-

receives no press, no mention on the radio. It is the war of the shambles, the slaughterhouse hidden away in the back street, and studiously ignored by many worthy pacifists.

According to the League of Nations Statistical Year Book, the amount of beef and veal consumed throughout the world in 1937 is conservatively estimated at 15,218,700 tons!!! Think of the bloodshed involved in this dietetic horror and ask yourself: Is this conducive to peace?

J. A. TURNBULL.

75 Rothwell Road,  
Gosforth, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 3.

## Not opportunism

I HAVE not got J. Allen Skinner's article, which your correspondent, Cyril F. Wright criticises, before me as I write; but I feel quite confident in saying that what the Chairman of the NCC and the Council itself finds in the present economic situation and the manpower shortage is an additional impetus as it continues its campaign against the National Service Act—and not by any means, as is inferred, the sole impetus.

We have not "shifted" from any of the assertions repeatedly proclaimed in our literature that "conscription is an outrage upon the individual conscience, and a denial of our traditions of personal freedom."

J. Allen Skinner was simply pointing out what is true. Lord Faringdon, the Council's president, has said: "The present crisis reinforces everything that we have been saying (quite

## REMEMBER

### DICK SHEPPARD?

SUCH is the heading of one of our posters, and such the heading I have chosen for this Appeal paragraph in the issue of "Peace News" which commemorates the 10th Anniversary of Dick's death. Another poster reminds us that Dick's work still goes on, adding: "will you make it YOURS?"

We hope that this Anniversary will challenge every single member as to what each of us is doing to help to carry on his work. It is my job to remind members that the work cannot be carried on without money, and I want to appeal this week for a very special response from all readers of "Peace News" to show that we still do

### REMEMBER DICK SHEPPARD,

MAUD ROWNTREE.

Treasurer.

Contributions to HQ Fund since Oct. 17: £5 5s. Year's total to date: £172 16s. 8d. Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

man workers have been deported by force to the interior of Russia. On the question of political abduction, there have been a number of well-known cases of independent Socialists who have disappeared in the Russian zones of Germany and Austria, some of which have been taken up by the IRRG, an organisation devoted entirely to aiding militant anti-Nazis. A few days ago I received a letter from a German anti-Nazi who travels frequently into the Russian zone, saying:

I myself have just met the families of three former colleagues, who have been under arrest since August, 1945 and whose whereabouts their relatives have been unable to discover for the last two years.

I can give other examples of which I have personal knowledge, including that of a girl of 18 who recently disappeared from a Central German town.

### FREE SPEECH

On the question of clothes, none of the Germans I know in the Russian zone have received any clothes for six or seven years, and lack even such elementary things as thread and mending cloth.

The paragraph about free speech strikes me as nonsensical. Mr. Kraschutzki apparently gave a talk about "free talk as the basis of scientific and spiritual progress"; if he had tried to advocate free speech as the basis of political progress his experience might have been more to the point, but a great deal more unpleasant.

No doubt many Germans are cowards, but this is a poor accusation for Mr. Kraschutzki, who whitewashes a tyrannical regime, to bring against those who dare to criticise it.

apart from the moral issue) as to the economic folly of conscription"; and I fail to understand why the reinforcement of ones' primary reasons for opposing conscription with secondary arguments should be described as "political opportunism."

CHARLES H. COLE.

Secretary, No Conscription Council.  
6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

## Friendliness wins

I AGREE with Mr. A. J. Gowing that we should "go forward with even greater zest to alleviate the untold suffering of the German people." But we are not likely to gain their respect or friendship if we stick to the opinion that "their expressions of gratitude are utterly insincere." If Mr. Gowing's agreement with this generalisation is based on his own experience, possibly his attitude towards those whom he has tried to help has been unfortunate. The Swiss, he alleges, are completely without sympathy and give relief in a spirit of duty rather than goodwill. Never mind the insult to the Swiss. The point I would stress is that it is not very pleasant to be given relief in such a spirit. Cold as charity, it is said. But anyone who in a spirit of real sympathy and friendliness has tried to help PoWs or their families knows what a warm and genuinely grateful response is evoked. "Honourable exceptions?" Certainly not!

PAUL SPENCER.

Winterfold  
East Horsley, Surrey.



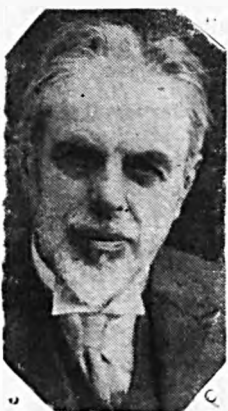
# THE IDEAL AND THE PRACTICAL

by

LAURENCE HOUSMAN

THE ideal social order is that in which the social conscience is so general and effective that it supersedes law, making laws superfluous. That is, or should be, the aim of civilised humanity.

We have to admit that we are not yet sufficiently civilised to put that ideal into practice. If we were foolish enough to do so the result would be catastrophic. Impose an ideal, and it ceases to be ideal; and because the imposition of that ideal would bring the world to ruin, "Anarchy," which is the true name



for it (a social order without law) has acquired a bad meaning.

But Anarchy, in the good sense, does not mean—"go as you like," "do as you like"; it means—act (but never compellingly) as you believe to be good for the whole community; it admits trial and error, but it rules out benevolent tyranny.

Benevolent tyranny can do horrible things. It may startle some of my readers if I say that the Inquisition, and the torture and burning of heretics (fundamentally a device for the "saving of souls"), was merely the benevolent tyranny of an ecclesiastical authority, which, believing in its infallibility, had—in the Name of Christ—gone to the Devil for a remedy.

A good many years ago I sent to Dick Sheppard, in a letter dealing with this and other matters, the following verses, which some people think blasphemous, but which he did not:

#### DEUS LOCQUITUR

An me, for this world of mine! 'Tis an old, old song,  
The horrible things man does when he knows it's wrong.  
But here's the truth: I've far more cause for fright  
At the much worse things he does when "HE KNOWS HE'S RIGHT!"

Reading back through history, is not that true? And War, though an outstanding instance, is not the only one.

But with human nature at its present very imperfect stage, the ideal remedy not yet being applicable, we have to carry on with imperfect ones, which are imperfect and often hurtful in their results. Nevertheless, for the time being, those "remedies" may, in a semi-civilised society, which continues wilfully to hurt itself badly, be necessary.

Our prisons, for instance, are far from ideal; though we are gradually reforming them, they are still hurtful. But prisons of some kind are necessary; we are not yet sufficiently civilised to abolish them.

#### Conscientious compromise

We may, as individuals, conscientiously refuse to take a hand in sending people there, it is also our social duty to try and reform them; and one way toward reforming them more speedily might be for a large number of people to refuse to serve on juries in criminal cases. I have done so myself, so I am sympathetic to that idea. But I am not now sure about it, for I think that people who object to our present prison system may do valuable service on a jury.

So there we have an instance where an idealist may conscientiously accept an imperfect and even hurtful remedy, because he may thereby be able to mitigate its bad effects, and because the ideal is not yet attainable.

Now this brings to a point where I shall probably be in a minority among "out-and-out pacifists," though I would like to consider myself also an "out-and-out pacifist." I think the State has the right to make laws of which we cannot approve, if they express the mind and the will of the majority, for that is the way by which, through manifold trial and error, Democracy is shaping itself toward its true form.

But against that right of the State stands the right of the individual to refuse obedience to a law, if it revolts his conscience; but he has not the right to refuse obedience to it if it merely incommodes him, or

deprives him unfairly of his money, or of his material liberty.

I do not think material liberty is the same as moral liberty—liberty of conscience: for that he must fight to his last breath. The religious and social liberties of this country were largely obtained through resistance to laws of which the majority approved—a doubtful majority, perhaps, because the majority had not then a voice in the making of the laws. But, have no doubt about it, the majority can be tyrannous; and if it makes tyrannous laws, the minority should obey them if they only affect material and not moral liberty.

Take for instance compulsory employment, or what is now called "Direction of Labour": a man may be an idle ne'er-do-well; I do not think it is a violation of his moral liberty

to make him work in a social order which provides him with—or out of which he extracts—his means of living. Nor do I think a man has a right to refuse direction of labour if the labour to which he is directed does not offend his conscience.

It is nonsense to pretend that the majority of workers in this country have ever had freedom of choice for their employment: economic compulsion still forces the majority to take what employment they can get; and in this over-mechanised age, a vast amount of that employment is harmful in its effects—the enormous increase of gambling and betting as a reaction to its deadening monotony is one of the results.

We have, therefore, already in our social system a highly organised misdirection of labour to which the majority have had to submit. I do

not state direction of labour in an economic emergency is morally worse, though it has its special dangers.

But what I think gives a certain amount of moral justification to the present proposed direction of labour for the reconstruction of essential industries, is that it is a logical outcome of the country's consent to accept a vast dislocation of industry as a war measure for purpose of destruction. The whole balance of industry was thereby upset; and I do not believe that balance can be restored without some direction away from the inessentials to the essentials of industry—from the luxury trades to the country's basic needs. We have not yet sufficient social conscience and goodwill toward the whole community for "do as you like, go as you please," to save us from national bankruptcy.



"For me? Why what has it to do with me?"

Drawn by Arthur Wragg



# WHAT CAN ONE STUDENT DO?

by MURIEL LESTER

AT an international conference held in Stockholm some months after the end of the war a tall, fair, broad-shouldered young man strolled in one morning with that placid, serene look that seems to characterise Scandinavians. "I must introduce you to him but first let me tell you his story," said my neighbour.

"He was the leader of the students in Norway, when the Nazis arrived and occupied the country.

He knew their tactics—they would try to make puppets of the youth of the country. The Gestapo would be given orders to deal with him personally. They would use all their skill to elicit information from him about other student leaders. If he refused to be a little Quisling he would be tortured. That could be endured, but what if he lost consciousness as a result of the ordeal?

"He had the sort of brain that holds names and addresses easily, and all student secretaries might be in danger if he began to talk while in that state. After a lot of thought, he decided to get ahead of the Nazis and silence himself. He took poison.

## No apprehension

A Gestapo official found him in his cell apparently at the point of death, rushed him to the prison hospital, had the stomach pump used, brought him back to life and eventually to strength. Then the questioning began, but now the Norwegian had no sort of apprehension. He was completely certain that God would never have let his life be saved and then let him betray his friends.

"With utter confidence he entered the torture room. After the Gestapo's most skilled efforts in three Norwegian concentration camps they told him he was too tough for them, but he'd better not imagine that that ended the affair.

"He was now to be sent down to Germany. In the camps there he would find a force greater than his own. For two more years he was sent from one German centre to another, but his confidence never failed. Then came May of 1945 and here he was back in Norway."

Of course I was proud to meet such a man and during the lunch interval we wandered together along the beautiful streets of Stockholm talking of many things. When he arrived at the conference the next morning it was obvious that something had happened to him. How does one describe the look of one who has had immensely good news? Perhaps the old simile is best, for it is not only in the face, but in the whole person, that the change is obvious. He seemed to be "walking on air."

At the end of the session he told me that he'd just had a phone message from the Swedish YMCA. They had accepted his application to be one of a team of four which was to start the following week for Germany.

They were to work among the prisoners now filling the camps there, Gestapo men, torturers and such. They were to set up classes for them, libraries, lectures, music groups, ser-

## "ONE OF GOD'S GOOD MEN"

wrote George Lansbury of Dick Sheppard

Below we reprint the tribute paid by one great leader of the peace movement to another in Peace News nearly ten years ago.

I HAVE lost a friend and the whole world has lost one of the greatest friends of humanity, one of God's good men in the very best sense of the word. He was the most human personality I ever met in my life, with the keenest sympathy and the greatest of all gifts, understanding.

His devotion to peace was not just sentiment. It was the conviction born of his faith in the religion of his Master than mankind can, whenever it decides to do so, remove the causes of war. The whole pacifist movement will mourn one of the greatest leaders and one who gave himself literally, knowing all the risk that he ran, a living sacrifice to the cause. Those who knew him knew how often he struggled against infirmity in order that he might deliver his message.

He gathered round him multitudes of young men and women who caught the fire of his spirit, and I can only hope that those who have done so will produce not one but hundreds to take his place. . . .

The peace movement has lost a wonderful leader. He was a far greater man than the phrase "Peace Pledge" would indicate. He founded his peace movement on his religion, but he was not a dreamer.

vices of worship, and anything else that might bring these degraded men into good citizenship again.

A few months later I was telling this story to a group of landowners at a garden party. Afterwards a young Englishman got up and asked the audience if they'd like him to tell them the next chapter.

He had just come back from a similar job in Germany. In fact, he was one of an international YMCA team that had been working for months in the camp that the Swedish group was bound for. He was taking his class as usual when the jeep drove up with the four men who were to relieve them. Everyone was interested in the new arrivals, but they soon gave back their full attention to the matter in hand.

Then the Englishman began to notice a disturbance in two of the Germans. They were white as a sheet of paper, their limbs trembled and they asked permission to leave. Later they were found hiding in the darkest corner of the deepest cellar. They had recognised the Norwegian, remembered what they'd done to him day after day; in their poor Nazi twisted minds they took it for granted that he had come to avenge himself. For what other reason could such a man have come to such as they?

As the few days passed before the young Englishman left, he saw that the mutation in these two Germans had begun. They had discovered something new in the universe, something hitherto unimaginable. He noticed how they kept as close as they could to the Norwegian. Obviously they were learning from him all the time something that wasn't included in the timetable. They were getting on to the road to good citizenship, to world citizenship, to Christian citizenship.

# GEORGE LANSBURY AND HIS CONSCIENCE

A Conspiracy of silence

Joseph Jackson

was converted to pacifism, by Ruth Fry's exposure of the effects of our starvation-blockade, and E. D. Morel's revelations on secret diplomacy, after the first world war, during which he served on the Western Front, and was twice wounded. A member of the Dorset Police for seven years, he eventually resigned rather than perform duties conflicting with his pacifist faith. He is now a wholesale grocer's storeman—and well-known seller of P.N.—in Bournemouth.

GEORGE LANSBURY'S name is seldom mentioned today. Is this because men dare not, lest in so doing they should bring to mind his unflinching witness and last tragic heroic efforts for world peace; and then looking out upon our famine-ridden, disrupted, ruined world be forced to face afresh that truth which Lansbury held forth to his truth-rejecting generation?

involved, was not one of the guiltiest acts of guilty men in a guilty generation.

Subsequent events are too recent to need detailing. The Labour movement, save for a valiant minority, lined up behind the Churchills, the Archbald Sinclairs, the Roosevelts in the policy of bomb, burn, blast and ruthlessly destroy, which reached its high-water mark of devilry in the atomic crimes on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

May God forgive all who participated, for they knew not—they could not have known—the full meaning of what they did.

George Lansbury recorded in his book "My Quest for Peace," concerning his personal interview with Hitler, that he "felt strong enough to believe that Christianity in its purest sense might stand a chance with him."

Mr. Worldly-Wiseman, politician, may laugh at such faith, but the world of Mr. Worldly-Wiseman is always a tragic factual commentary on his wisdom, and never more so than our world of 1947.

Careful study by historians confirms beyond doubt that the creation of Adolf Hitler as the world so fearfully knew him, and his rise to that dread power which trampled Europe underfoot were brought about by the absence from the Peace of Versailles in 1919 of just precisely those qualities of mercy, compassion, kindness and fellow-feeling which must ever be the ingredients of Christianity in its purest form.

## Curious mathematics

Worldly wisdom, however, resorted in 1939 to curious moral mathematics, and tried to reduce the evil in its midst by action which could do nothing but add to the very causes which multiplied that evil.

Who, on the other hand, can estimate the tremendous possibilities in the purest form of Christianity to reclaim men and nations from evil? Think of Elizabeth Fry in Newgate; of Mathilda Wrede's work among the most violent and wicked men in the prisons of Finland. Recently I have read how Charles Pean, a French Salvationist plunged into the midst of the degradation and despair of the Devil's Island convicts. To know of such activities is to have our faith strengthened as to the possibilities of the pure religion of Jesus.

The Duke of Bedford has suggested that if the churches had gone more out to seek and save the lost in individual men and women, they would not so easily have concurred in the betrayal of their Master by resorting to war, and all that war entails, in order to deal with lost nations.

At a time during the war, when it looked as if the Dictators might hold Europe, Stephen Hobhouse aptly reminded us that Canute was transformed from cruelty to gentleness by the purifying power of the Christian faith—in the same manner that Lansbury thought Hitler might be changed.

Does Ernest Bevin, beneath the unbearable weight of his manifold responsibilities, and met at every turn with that monotonous Molotov "no," ever find time to recall the scene years back at a Labour Party Annual Conference, where that old honoured grey head was bowed in tears—broken for the moment in spirit—the result of his, Ernest's, own relentless trouncing?

## Fateful year

Labour at that fateful 1935 conference was considering its attitude to Mussolini, who was attacking Ethiopia. Hitler was in power in Germany. The two dictators were challenging the free existence of Labour and Democracy everywhere.

George Lansbury, with the whole of his being, was certain of one thing. The very Heavens might fall, and the Earth itself be moved: War was not, could not be the way to right wrong, and restore stability. The teaching of Jesus was the only realism for politicians as for others. So he believed; so he proclaimed in his forthright unmistakable manner.

But in the current political world, pacifism was on the decline; fear of the dictators more than countered Lansbury's personal prestige, great as it was by reason of his widespread lovability and sincerity.

So Ernest Bevin, in terms which many in that majority deplored—fiercely assailed his old colleague for "hawking his conscience round." And then Ernest boasted of putting a match to the faggots, and giving George Lansbury the martyr end to which he had so long aspired.

No doubt Mr. Bevin believed that in so doing, like many another in the imagery he employed, he was "rendering God service." Posterity, however, may well enquire whether his action by reason of the mighty issues

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# HOW THE GERMANS ARE HELPING THEMSELVES

by C. C. Schweitzer

WE hear much in these days of the apathy of the German people in their present appalling situation. About that situation English public opinion seems fairly well informed now. They will know that the present low rations are bringing people near to breaking-point, that the millions of refugees are proving an insoluble and very tragic problem, that industry is still paralysed—in short, the whole material and political situation is such that even some of the best people are beginning to lose hope.

But there is also a story to tell of the many efforts made by the Germans in Germany to fight this chaos. There is, in any case, no doubt that the will to improve conditions still exists, and it is incredible what ingenuity and perseverance can make, for example, of a cellar-room which, to all intents and purposes is a shambles. To many of us in Germany, it seems, therefore, one of the most unfortunate lines to take up, when it is argued that not only are the Germans really responsible for the present famine, but also that they are inclined to sit back and wait for orders.

## A significant fact

The significant fact is that it is the Churches which are facing these reconstruction efforts in the biggest way. The Roman-Catholic Church has its own relief work, called the Caritas, while its bigger brother is the reconstruction work of the German Protestant Churches—the Hilfswerk. Co-operation between both is excellent at all levels.

Perhaps one of the lessons learnt from the past years of church perse-

*The author of this article was educated in England, and occupied a position on the staff of an English public school. A strong urge to return to Germany and help the German Churches with their relief-work led him to resign his post, and for the last year, apart from a brief visit to his family in this country, he has been employed full-time on Das Hilfswerk der Evangelischen Kirchen, whose task he here describes.*

cution under Hitler, is that the Protestant Churches must emphasise even more strongly their regard for the welfare of the people as a whole, and that in fact, they are called upon to fulfill to the maximum of their ability the commandment of the Gospel: "To feed the hungry, give water unto them that thirst, to clothe the naked and comfort the faint-hearted."

## The Inner Mission

The German Protestant Church has since the time of Wichern, had its famous "Inner Mission," carrying out the social work of the church for the sick and aged (e.g., in the well-known institution Bethel, perhaps the biggest of its kind), for the homeless orphans, apart from its Evangelisation, and other departments. But the chaos in Germany after the end of hostilities was so vast and all-embracing, that the Inner Mission could not have tackled this great task of reconstruction alone. So it was decided at the first post-war conference of the German Protestant Church, in the summer of 1945, to call the Hilfswerk into life as an organisation capable of working effectively in every single parish in Germany.

In this step, the German Protestant Church was really only falling in line with the Ecumenical Church: The Hilfswerk was from the start created analogously with, and as a fully-affiliated member of the Reconstruction Department of the World Council of Churches in Geneva. Thus from the beginning this sense of ecumenical oneness was the great underlying factor of all its work. Quite soon the so-called Free Churches, which are very small in Germany, joined the Hilfswerk of the Protestant "Evangelical" Church.

## In all zones

Directing the whole Hilfswerk in its work in all the four zones of Germany, with the support of all the Military Governments concerned, is Dr. Gerstenmaier, who himself nearly lost his life in connection with the famous plot against Hitler in July, 1944. He had been rescued in 1945 from a concentration camp, and started organising this work, which he and his friends had already planned in

the years of Nazi domination, immediately.

Organisationally, the work is directed from the Central Office in Stuttgart. There is also a semi-independent Central Office for the Eastern Zone in Berlin. From Stuttgart and Berlin the work decentralises in the so-called Landeskirchen (dioceses), and from there in the deaneries and local parishes. Relief goods arriving at Hamburg and Bremen, or from Switzerland, are therefore directed to the place of greatest need at any given time, by the Central Office, on the basis of reports received there of the situation all over Germany.

(In a concluding article to appear in a fortnight's time, C. C. Schweitzer will show how the Hilfswerk use the material resources at their disposal.)

## SAVE EUROPE NOW'S LONDON WEEK

### Depots Wanted

PLANS are being made for a "Save Europe Now London Week," from Sunday Nov. 30 to Sunday Dec. 7.

During this week Save Europe Now wish to set up three or four depots in all districts of London at which gifts of food, clothing or books could be left. They are therefore asking anyone who can offer the use of a room, with attendance, for that week to send them a postcard giving the name and address of the depot. Save Europe Now will supply all the posters and display material and collect the gifts early the following week.

They need to have all the depots fixed by Nov. 3. Offers of help should be sent to 15 James Street, London, W.C.2.

## RELEASE DATES FOR C.O.s

Approximate dates when conditionally registered C.O.s may expect to receive their release notices are:

### MEN

Group 63: January 16, 1948; 64, February 11, 1948; 65, February 26, 1948; 66, March 15, 1948.

### WOMEN

Group 67: January 5, 1948; 68, February 14, 1948; 69, March 12, 1948; 70, April 5, 1948.

## NEXT WEEK!

Commentary by  
Reginald Sorensen, M.P.  
Book Reviews  
The Dick Sheppard  
Memorial Concert

## Publications Received

The Gift, by J. D. Beresford and Esme Wynne-Tyson. Hutchinsons, 9s. 6d.

THIS novel portrays the life and actions of a young man who naturally and spontaneously lives according to the Sermon on the Mount. The authors have succeeded in conveying in a vivid and telling manner the impact that would be made by a life of utter integrity and fearless love. The book is of particular interest to pacifists because during the War the hero becomes a pacifist and his influence over soldiers leads to a trial at which he is convicted and sentenced to be confined in a mental institution. The theme of the novel is not primarily pacifism, in the narrow sense of the term, however, but the power of a life lived in accordance with spiritual values, of which pacifism is the natural and logical expression. It is an attempt to deal with fundamental issues in a way that will capture the imagination. It might have been even more successful in its aim if the hero had not been quite so good. He is just a little too removed from ordinary human beings and had he experienced some of the inner conflict and struggle which most of us encounter he would have been more real and his message would have been more relevant.

K. W.

Japan. Union of Democratic Control, 1s.

AS Lt.-Col. Dr. Rees-Williams, M.P., points out in his foreword to this pamphlet it has been extraordinarily difficult to know what is happening in Japan and this publication admirably fulfils the purpose of supplying this deficiency. It is pointed out that the problems of Japan are far less remote than they appear at first sight and the importance of British policy in this connection is stressed. Allied policy in Japan, political developments during the occupation, and the efforts made to provide the administrative framework of a democratic regime are ably dealt with and a final chapter discusses Japan's future.

Were We Prepared? by Frank Hancock. PN Pamphlet, 2d.

THAT we were "virtually disarmed" in 1939 is put forward as proof that we were a "peace-loving" nation. An argument for conscription is that we were caught napping in 1914 and again in 1939. We are told we must be ready next time. This pamphlet debunks this point of view by means of a series of skilfully selected quotations from the Press and utterances of famous statesmen during the inter-war years. It is pointed out that we were ready in 1914 and more than prepared in 1938. The moral is drawn that the last "victorious" war was "touch and go" with us and that it will be suicidal for us to be in the next.

## PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

## MEETINGS, &c.

CENTRAL LONDON Group, W.C.1, Nov. 1. After the music... moonlight. Meet plat. 1, Liverpool St., 11 p.m., for a ramble. Food and cup.

CENTRAL LONDON Group, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1, 7.30 p.m. Nov. 7: T. W. Ramsey, "Spring Rhythm"; Nov. 14: Gwyneth Anderson, "Martin Buber"; Nov. 21: A. K. Jameson, "Seventeenth-Century Spain and Twentieth-Century Britain"; Nov. 28: Policy.

NOBEL PRIZE atomic scientist Prof. Harold C. Urey (USA) speaks with Victor Collins, MP, Henry Osborne, MP, and Christopher Shawcross, MP, at Central Hall (Library), Westminster, S.W., Nov. 5, 8 p.m. Admission free. Crusade for World Government, 5 Old Palace Yard, S.W.1.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C.2, Fri. Nov. 7, Lunch-hr. mtg. (1.15-2.15). L. Backstansky, "Palestine and World Jewry." Admission free. National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

LONDON, W.C.1, 8, Endsleigh Gdns., Discussion lectures every Sun. 7.30 p.m. London Anarchist Group.

SOUTHERN AREA PPU: important meetings Sat., Nov. 22. Southampton Friends House, Ordnance Road, 3 p.m. Area Business; 5 p.m. tea; 6 p.m. "Germany Today," by Stuart Morris. Every Group should be represented, contact members expected. Members' friends invited to evening session.

WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH, Duke St., W.1, Bond St. Tube, "The Gospel of Peace!" Sun. evenings at 7.30. Social hr follows.

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## EDUCATIONAL

HESITANT SPEAKERS and writers specially helped. Lessons (correspondence or visit) 5s. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRIMROSE 5686.

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WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middx.

## LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

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SITUATIONS and WORK WANTED FIRST CLASS duplicating: reports, bulletins, memoranda, etc. Typewriting. Mabel Eyles, 2 Aberdeen Park, Highbury, N.5. CANonbury 3862.

## MISCELLANEOUS

A WORD to the ailing. Do not despair. Start today. Send for two 20-page booklets of encouraging life-conserving information about Garlic, which comes nearer to a universal remedy than anything given by Nature for the use of man. Send stamps 5d. to Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

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INSURANCE IS now the best investment. Accident and sickness 10s. yearly. Several home purchase schemes. No claims bonus on household policies. R. C. Horwood, Turvey, Bedford.



## A moral authority needed

### COMMENTARY CONTINUED

some industries which are not socially justified. Steps taken on these lines vigorously would probably indicate that we are not short of manpower, and would release over a period production sufficient for the home market and for the export trade as well." (Aug. 23, 1947).

I do not deny that in the unbalanced state of our economy, inherited from the time when Britain was the workshop of the world, such a solution may be necessary as a preliminary to restoring the balance and to avert immediate disaster. But "this," Mr. Mackay concludes triumphantly, "This is what we mean by a Socialist approach." Shades of William Morris!

As for the expediency of nationalising Iron and Steel in the near future: it will be noticed that this does not even feature in Mr. Mackay's prescription. Perhaps he, like The Economist, feels that it would be fiddling while Rome burns. But from another angle, the whole discussion sounds rather like fiddling, since neither private nor public ownership will get us far until we have decided where we want to get.

### The Pope speaks

TALKING of Rome, it may be salutary to contrast with this salient example of what Chesterton called "the jargon of those who talk about 'efficiency' without any criterion of effect," the latest pronouncement of the Pope. Addressing the first National Congress of the Christian Association of the Small Craftsmen of Italy, on Tuesday last week, His Holiness declared:

"The relations between the Church and small craftsmen has a foundation more deep and essential than historical because the Church wishes to put a limit on the diminution of man before the predominance of the machine. Small craftsmen as a class are as it were a militia chosen to defend the dignity and personal character of the worker. During the bitter, frequent and unnatural struggles between employers and workers, small craftsmen, generally speaking, have kept themselves apart. Their small workshops still present a family character. For more than a century small craftsmen have had to fight for their existence before the great industries, powerful and all-conquering, but they have shown strength, resistance, vigour, life. Presently you will be fighting for the Christian character of your association. If this character were lost it would suffocate the strong religious and moral energies inherent in it." (Catholic Herald, Oct. 24).

One does not have to be a Catholic in order to appreciate the desirability in political life of some moral authority, to which the people may look for instruction in the first principles of a humane social order, based on a true conception of the end of man upon earth: a society, not a beehive; of workmen, not of "workers."

or "drones." The creation of such an authority is far more vital to Europe now than the fate of any political party or panacea.

### Crisis in France

THE same lesson emerges from France, where the Constitutional crisis really means something. Whereas the British have no idea where they want to get, the French have two incompatible ideas. Two incompatible currents of opinion are sweeping away the isthmus on which M. Ramadier stands—narrow enough after the continental drift of the Communist bloc away to his left; positively precarious since the subsidence of the MRP.

De Gaulle's professed objective is a reform of the Republican Constitution. But everyone knows that the success of his Rally would spell an anti-Communist dictatorship. The resemblance of his programme, plebiscite and all, to that of Napoleon the Little is too obvious to be overlooked. And (pace The Times) the prospect is anything but inviting. For the General resembles Churchill not only in the source of his prestige, but in his lack of any creative alternative to Communism. His vision is bounded by an obsolete, narrow nationalism, the first consequence of which would be colonial wars.

In such a situation, it is rather pathetic to find Tribune lamenting the new British Ambassador's "known lack of faith in the survival of Socialism in Europe"—as though it were a misfortune to see things as they are! So far as anybody can predict, the days of the Fourth Republic are numbered. Not to admit the fact is simply to stop our ears to the lesson.

### Democratic contrasts

DEMOCRACY does not depend on the framework of a democratic Constitution: it depends on the democratic frame of mind. In England we have a working democracy without any Constitution; in France they have a Constitution without any working democracy. In England there is implicit agreement between the parties, that the method by which changes are made matters more than the changes themselves; the freedom of the Opposition to criticise, and organise an alternative Government, is sacrosanct. No such agreement exists in France; the parties cannot trust one another; and autocracy lurks always round the corner.

One reason for this contrast is the tradition of toleration, which has struck such deep roots in this island: the positive conviction, that is, that every man should have a voice in the government, because every man may discover for himself what is right—an inheritance of Protestant Christianity.

But our relative economic prosperity may have even more to do with it today; and nobody can safely say whether, if the standard of living in England descends to the level of France, our tradition will stand up to the strain. The current bemusement about first principles powerfully suggests that it will not. As Sir Stafford Cripps (by far the most clear-sighted member of the Cabinet) stressed in his masterly speech last week: "The danger is that continued difficulties—lack of food and raw materials and the consequent lowering of living standards—may lead people to embrace political creeds which are destructive of democracy and the seed-beds of war." (Manchester Guardian, Oct. 24).

### The way out

TWO things, therefore, are urgently necessary if Britain is to escape the fate of France: to establish economic stability, and to establish the democratic frame of mind. In the end they amount to one thing: the resolute pursuit of a policy of de-centralisation, economic and political. Which, in its turn, entails the final abandonment of power-politics, irreconcilable as these are with both the material and moral desideratum. This is not pacifism, but common sense.

By abandoning power-politics this country has nothing to lose: for by general consent of the authorities, congested as it is, it may fight, but

### COLOUR BLIND

"We in America, familiar with our 12,000,000 Negroes democratically raised up to our level through nearly 100 years of social equality and culture, have not the smallest idea of South Africa's—and all the other states of Southern Africa—dilemma."

Henry A. Phillips—Johannesburg Sunday Times, Sept. 14, 1947.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People has sent a 155-page appeal to UNO's Economic and Social Council."

"A pitiable chasm lay between a Negro's legal rights and his actual rights, the statement said."

"It is to induce the nations of the world to induce this nation (the U.S.A.) to be just to its own people that we have prepared this document."

"This petition is a frank and earnest appeal to all the world for elementary justice against the treatment which the United States has visited upon us for three centuries—we who are an integral part of this land and ever as loyal as any other group of its citizens."

—News Chronicle, Oct. 24, 1947.

cannot survive, another war; and therefore can do nothing to prevent war by means of colossal armaments. By pursuing a policy of de-centralisation, this country has everything to gain: for though it could not fight, it might actually survive materially—and morally, lead captivity captive.

Our Forces are now to be cut: from Burma, India, Palestine, British troops are being withdrawn; from Germany, the sooner they are withdrawn the better, for the sake of German Social Democracy. Let America "contain" Communism, if she can. It is up to Britain to counteract Communism, if she will.

But it is up to those who see that this is necessary, not to wait for a parliamentary majority, but to anticipate it by direct action now: in other words, to support, if need be re-found, the small locality, the small industry, the smallholding—and incidentally, refuse to be conscripted. By so doing, they may come to constitute that very moral authority of which Europe stands so desperately in need.

### Retraction

IN my last Commentary (July 18), I quoted a speech attributed to Stalin "at the last plenary session of the Comintern, in May, 1938." One or two people wrote to the Editor, pointing out that, not merely was there no meeting of the Comintern in that year, but that Stalin did not deliver a single important speech in the month. Curiosity aroused, I wrote to the author of the pamphlet from which I had taken the quotation ("Russia, Ally and Enemy," by J. F. Jackson), asking whether he could authenticate it. The following reply was received:

"I cannot find the exact date of the Session of the Comintern but it was in May, 1938. I think you might get the exact date from the Paris edition of the Herald Tribune of May 18, 1939, which had had an article by Walter Lippmann on the subject of Soviet Russia as a major power. This article was referred to in The Patriot of May 25, 1939, but gave no exact date for the quotation. Anyway you can take it that the quotation was not invented."

I have been unable to procure a copy of the Herald Tribune in question. If any of my readers can trace one, I should be interested to learn what they find there. But those who are acquainted with The Patriot will know how much reliance to put on this authority. I must apologise humbly to the readers of Peace News for repeating an evident forgery, designed to stir up animosity against Soviet Russia. The policy of the Comintern can be condemned without invoking false witness (my Commentary was, in fact, written before the quotation came to hand).

Consultations by appointment

**TOM KEELL WOLFE**

Registered Naturopath

Graduate of Edinburgh School of

Natural Therapeutics

21 Promenade, Cheltenham, Glos.

## INDIA TO AVOID POWER ALLIANCES

WHEN Mr. Krishna Menon, High Commissioner for India, spoke on India and World Affairs at the National Peace Council's Lunch-hour Meeting on Oct. 22, he began by reminding the audience that, while the India which has emerged today is perhaps not that India of which so many people had dreamed, it is, despite partition, as far as international affairs at least are concerned, an India undivided.

India wanted to have good relations, political and economic firstly with her immediate neighbours and then with the whole world, but she would never allow herself to be caught up in any agreement which committed her, willy nilly, to taking sides in big power conflicts. Very friendly relations with Great Britain were India's wish; those relations must be bilateral and based on mutual respect, and equality.

"There will be more English people in India by this time next year than there were at this time last year," he prophesied. "They are staying as friends."

Already India was taking part in international affairs and Indian delegations were taking a full share of responsibility in the many committees and conferences now active in the international field. Thanks to the wisdom of her leaders, India, enjoying sovereign independence at last, was avoiding its greatest danger—isolation.

Speaking of the use of force and of India's armed forces Mr. Krishna Menon said that not even Mr. Gandhi had yet imagined the possibility of an unarmed state. India would maintain her armed forces, hoping that they would be armies of service and never of aggression. He drew attention to the protective action taken in present centres of unrest in India. So long as force is an accepted method of ensuring security and peace, said the High Commissioner, so long would India be ready to contribute her share to the international forces. Individuals could and indeed should be absolutist in their maintenance of principles; but states are bound to compromise.

## TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, Oct. 30, 1937

Let those who are pacifist make certain they will recognise Conscription when it comes. Let us have wit enough to see that the power which offers us Conscription for our own "safety" hands us, with this charity, Conscription for war. Take one, take both

This is what Sir Philip Gibbs says of the new faith of youth in his book "Since Then":

It is not weakness of character, or cowardice or the neurosis of a shell shocked world which makes these young men of today unashamed to call themselves pacifists—though some of them may be "nervy" and devitalised.

It is an intelligent understanding of the furious folly of war which makes them contemptuous to such words as "glory" and "heroism"...

They are looking to other methods of adjusting national differences. . . . Among the older minds in the world today there are few willing to take a chance for peace.

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